

The Turkoman Defeat at Cairo by Solomon ben Joseph Ha-Kohen

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
By JULIUS H. GREENSTONE, Ph.D.

THESIS PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
PENNSYLVANIA IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIRE-
MENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D.

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THE MANUSCRIPT.

The fragment presented in this monograph is from the Schechter-Taylor collection of the Cambridge University Library, No. 174; size 24.3×9.1 cm. The writing (text without margin) measures 23.5×8 cm. It is one of the Genizah fragments lately¹ unearthed by Professor Solomon Schechter in a ruined synagogue in Cairo, Egypt. It consists of one leaf, written on both sides of the paper, each page being divided into two columns. The writing is in an old, square hand, with a strong turn to the cursive (Rashi script). The whole appears to have been written by one man with the same ink, although some of the vowels, as well as a few minor additions, seem to have been added later in a paler ink. The fragment as a whole is well preserved; the writing is clear; the paper, while somewhat yellowish and broken in folding, escaped the destructive hand of time and presents a fine appearance, as will be seen from the accompanying photograph.

This fragment is not the original composition. It is a copy made either by the author himself or by someone else. This is indicated by the transposition of a few lines which the copyist placed in the wrong place and then, by explicit directions, indicated where the misplaced lines really belonged. L. 93, for example, is placed between ll. 99 and 100, and the copyist, by clear and unmistakable signs (כלל ומרצחים) to succeed the line beginning with the word (ומרצחים), indicates the reinsertion of the line in its proper place. The same is the case with l. 110, which is placed here between ll. 105 and 106, because there was a little room left; but the direction is given that it is to follow the line

beginning with the word לְכֹדֶה below (אֲכַפֵּל). L. 146 is placed at the end of the poem, because the copyist omitted it from its proper position. Ll. 120 and 121 are transposed, and are indicated as being so by the letters ב and נ added at the beginning of the lines. The last line, which contains the number of lines in the poem, is probably an addition of the copyist.

On the margin, between ll. 145 and 147, there is inserted the word שְׁלֵמָה, in a paler ink, but apparently by the same hand. This is probably of no particular significance. The word שִׁבְט seems to have been tampered with, but all indications point to the fact that the erasure as well as the correction was done by the same hand.

The manuscript is provided with vowel-points and other diacritical signs in a few places only, where the reading would otherwise not have been very clear. Thus, the וּ and the וְ are frequently indicated. The aspirate sounds of הּ, וּ, כּ, תּ, are indicated by a line over the letter.² The א and the ר are most frequently so indicated, the כ only twice (ll. 128, 129), ך once (l. 70), the ת twice (ll. 3, 111). There is no instance of the ב and פ being indicated as aspirates. This, however, may be entirely accidental and does not warrant the conclusion that these letters were not aspirated. All the vowel-signs, known to us at present, אֿ, אֿ, אֿ, אֿ, אֿ, אֿ, אֿ, אֿ, אֿ, as well as the Sheva אֿ, occur in this fragment. Once the Pataḥ occurs in the form of a vertical line under the letter, after the Arabic long Fatha over the letter, but here (l. 4) the vowel happens to be short. Peculiar is the combination of the short אֿ with the long אֿ, the first to indicate that the vowel is short, and the second serving merely as a sign for the vowel u.

The Arabic inscription on the second page was probably written before the paper was used for the poem. The writer of the Hebrew poem made use of a sheet that he found, leaving vacant the space occupied by the Arabic. Otherwise there would have been no reason for his leaving the spaces in the middle of cols. 3 and 4. The Arabic inscription itself is unintelligible. It is evident that the sheet was cut off from a larger sheet, the Arabic words being a continuation of the larger sheet.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.³

Al-Mustanşir b'Illahi Abu Tammîm Ma'add, the eighth Fatimide caliph of Egypt, was one of the weakest and most effeminate of the rulers who claimed descent from 'Ali and Fatima. His long reign over Egypt, Syria, and Palestine (427-87 A. H., 1035-94 C. E.), the longest reign ever enjoyed by an oriental ruler, was marked with "events and incidents most shameful."⁴ The intrigues of his mother, a negro slave, presented to his father, al-Dâhir, by Abu Sa'd Sahl ibn Harûn, a Jewish merchant, brought great misfortune to the people of Egypt, and was the cause of a revolt of the Turkish soldiers under Naşir ad-Daula, which, for a time, threatened the complete overthrow of the Fatimide dynasty and the establishment of the Abasside rule in Egypt and Syria. The rise of the power of the Turkoman tribes under Tugrul Beg, Alp Arslan, and Malik Shah, who were faithful adherents of the orthodox Abasside caliph of Bagdad, favored such a change, and it was only through the wisdom and foresight of the vizier, Badr al-Jamâli, that this was partly obviated. The end of Mustanşir's reign saw Damascus and the greater part of Palestine go over into the hands of the Turkomans, who later became the rulers of the whole of Asia Minor.

Tugrul Beg died soon after he succeeded in establishing peace in the provinces of the Abasside caliph, Al-Kâim, and in vanquishing the rebellious general Al-Bassasiri and his army (456, 1063). His nephew, Alp Arslan, succeeded him, and during his reign the rule of the Turkomans extended over a large area of Syria and Palestine. Alp Arslan soon made himself master of Aleppo, and one of his generals, Atsiz ibn 'Auk, wrested Palestine and Syria from the hands of the Fatimide caliph, Mustanşir. He even succeeded in vanquishing the Greeks and released the emperor, Romanus Diogenes, only after a large sum was paid for his ransom (August, 1071). His rule, however, was soon cut short. When on an expedition in Turkestan, he was assassinated by one of the captured chiefs, in 1072. He was succeeded by his son, Malik Shah (1072-92), after a series of civil wars, headed by his uncle, Kawurd. Malik Shah adopted a liberal policy with regard to his princes, which he extended even to those whom he had vanquished, allowing them full liberty to seek new kingdoms, "so that many of the princes later erected their standards under the shadow of his scepter."⁵ The affairs of Asia Minor and Syria

[illegible][illegible]

were delivered into the hands of his brother, Tutush, who established the Turkoman rule in these provinces on a firm basis.

Matters in Egypt were meanwhile in a most miserable condition. "A great famine, the like of which had never been known since the days of Joseph the faithful, desolated Egypt for seven years; men ate the flesh of their fellow-men, and, it is said, a single piece of bread was sold for fifty pieces of gold."⁶ Pestilence spread through the land in 448, when thousands died daily. As a result of these conditions, the soldiers were not paid regularly, and lawlessness and licentiousness spread through the army. The negro corps, which had the protection and support of the caliph's mother, and which was always hostile to the Turkish soldiers, who constituted the regular army, became much stronger during this time, and the antagonism between the two parties frequently resulted in bloodshed. The court became entirely demoralized; viziers and kadis were changed so frequently during these few years that the chronicler, always painstaking and scrupulous, ceased recording even their names.⁷ In 454 open feud broke out between the negro and the Turkish troops, and the country was thrown into a state of civil war, which lasted more than ten years. Naşir ad-Daula, the leader of the Turkish troops, held the caliph for a long period in utter subjection and destitution, burnt the royal palace and the valuable royal library—a loss mourned by scholars to the present day—removed from Cairo all the adherents of the Fatimide dynasty, and contemplated the complete overthrow of the Fatimide rule. It is supposed that he intended to proclaim himself the ruler of the land.⁸ The other Turkish generals, however, soon saw through his scheme, and Ildeguz, one of his captains, by strategy, killed Naşir ad-Daula and two of his brothers, and was in consequence appointed to the office of vizier by the caliph, Mustanşir. Ildeguz, however, did not treat the caliph any better than his predecessor, and Mustanşir was obliged to look elsewhere for assistance. Such assistance soon came from a man who, though of lowly origin, possessed the determination and power that make the true leader, and that crowned all his undertakings with glorious success.

Abu-l-Najm Badr, an Armenian slave, purchased by the emir Jamal ad-Daula Ibn-Ammar in Syria, whence he obtained his name al-Jamâli, was a man of a strong will and of an insatiable desire for power and glory. In 455 he was appointed comman-

dant of the important stronghold of Damascus. The soldiers of the city, however, who would not submit to his stringent measures, rose in open revolt and drove him from the city in 456. In 458 he was again appointed commandant of Damascus, but because of another rebellion, Badr remained in 'Akko, as the mayor of the town for a number of years, whence he endeavored to check the constant progress of the Turkoman armies in Syria. In 466 Badr was secretly appointed vizier by Mustanşir. Badr accepted the appointment on the condition that he should be permitted to retain his Armenian corps, and that Ildeguz be taken prisoner. The conditions being granted, Badr arrived in Cairo on the eve of Wednesday, the 28th of Jumādā I, 466.⁹ He soon rid himself of all the Egyptian emirs, divided their possessions among his own officers, and made himself master of the situation. Mustanşir, overjoyed at the relief afforded him, showed Badr all honor, presented him with a precious garment, and conferred upon him the title of Emir al-Juyush (chief of the army)—an honorary title held only by a few prefects of Syria—and shortly afterward made him chief-kadi (Kādi-l-Kudāt) and chief court preacher, thus giving him full power over both the secular and the religious affairs of the realm. Badr soon showed himself worthy of the trust put in him. As soon as he established himself in his new position, he set out to restore peace and order in the land. In the course of three years he subjugated all the rebellious tribes on the coast (467) and in upper Egypt (469), showed mildness to the peaceful tribes, and placed the land in a condition of peace and prosperity, the like of which it had not enjoyed for many years.

In spite of his stratagem and diplomācy, Badr was unable to check the steady advance of Turkoman arms in Syria and Palestine, under the leadership of Atsiz ibn 'Auk. Atsiz conquered Jerusalem and Ramla in 463,¹⁰ and began to lay siege to Damascus in the same year. Not successful this time, Atsiz continued his onslaughts on Damascus every year, until 468, when, on account of a war that broke out in the city between the Berber soldiers and the young men of Damascus, the city was delivered into his hands, and the most frightful scenes of carnage ensued. Atsiz then introduced on the Friday Hoṭba, on the 26th of Du-l-Ḥijja, the name of the Abasside caliph al-Muḩtadi. The rule of the Fatimide dynasty over Damascus then ceased forever.

Emboldened by this victory, Atsiz determined to continue his expedition against the Fatimide caliph, and proceeded forthwith toward Egypt. He met with little opposition in Syria, and, in 469, he suddenly appeared before Cairo, at the head of a large army of Turkomans, Kurds, and Arabs. His troops were given full freedom to look for booty in the outskirts of the capital, while Atsiz was negotiating with Badr about terms of peace. He was willing to depart from Egypt, if a large sum of money be given to him. Badr, however, only wanted to gain time until his troops, that were still in upper Egypt, should arrive, and until he made some other arrangements for the strengthening of his forces. With his native foresight, Badr was ready for defeat and had prepared vessels, wherein the caliph and himself could make their escape, in case Atsiz succeeded. By bribing the Turkomans under Atsiz, however, Badr was so gloriously successful in an engagement that took place at the beginning of the month Rajab that Atsiz, accompanied by only a small band of adherents, had to escape to Syria, after one of his brothers had been killed and another had lost his arm. In Damascus, where he left one of his brothers in command, everything was in good order, and Atsiz was so pleased with the reception accorded him that he relieved the citizens of the taxes for a whole year. The rest of Syria and Palestine, however, embraced this opportunity to throw off the yoke of the Turkomans, and again declared themselves for Mustansir and the Fatimide dynasty, so that Atsiz had to begin anew his work of conquest in these provinces. He took Jerusalem after a short siege, and put to death the kadi and other municipal officers, together with three thousand of the inhabitants of the city. He then proceeded to Gaza, and reduced to subjection the inhabitants of Syria as far as Al-Arish, close to the Egyptian boundary. In 471 Badr sent an army under Naṣir ad-Daula to Damascus. Atsiz was compelled to call to his assistance the emir Tutush, the brother of Malik Shah who had been appointed prefect of Syria. Tutush hastened to his aid, the Egyptians withdrew without even attempting to oppose him, and Tutush was welcomed by Atsiz at the city gates. Tutush ordered Atsiz to be seized and executed on the spot, being probably prompted by a feeling of jealousy of Atsiz' previous victories, and made himself master of Damascus on the 11th of Rabi II, 472.

Atsiz' siege of Cairo, and his subsequent shameful defeat at

the hands of Badr al-Jamâli, form the burden of this poem. The exultation of the inhabitants of the Egyptian capital over the success of their vizier must have been very great and general among all the classes of the population. There might have been an additional reason that prompted this Jewish poet to rejoice over the defeat of the Turkomans. As appears from the poem, the conquest of Jerusalem by Atsiz was very sorely felt by the Jews. The author dwells at great length on the cruelties perpetrated against the inhabitants of the Holy City, and describes the defeat at Cairo as a direct retribution against the Turkomans. Besides, the Jews were greatly attached to the Fatimide dynasty, and especially to Mustanşir, who treated them kindly and gave them many privileges.

THE TEXT.

The origin and development of mediæval Jewish poetry have formed the subject of much scholarly investigation in modern times. The style, method, diction, and metre; the sources, both Jewish and foreign, from which these poets have drawn their inspiration; the influences exerted upon them by contact with Arabic culture; the historical development of the payyeṭanic literature; the special themes of the Jewish poets of the Middle Ages—all these received special treatment by men like Zunz,¹¹ Delitzsch,¹² Dukes,¹³ Geiger,¹⁴ and others. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves here to a discussion of the characteristics that especially mark the production that is now under consideration.

Our author follows in the footsteps of the earlier Jewish payyeṭanim in employing a language which, although mainly based on biblical Hebrew, diverges widely from it, both as regards the form of expression and the meaning attached to various words. All the payyeṭanim, being saturated with the Talmud and familiar with its mode of expression, frequently thinking of biblical passages, not as they occur in the Bible, but rather in connection with the peculiar interpretation attached to them in talmudic and midrashic writings, indulged in allusions and metaphors that can be understood only by those who have imbibed the spirit of the rabbinical writings and are at home in the vast talmudic and midrashic literature. This fact will not appear strange, when we consider that the Hebrew language was known to these writers, not as a living tongue, but as a medium of religious intercourse, and the religious intercourse of the Jews of all

ages was mainly centered around the Talmud and the liturgy, which was in itself, to a large extent, produced by the rabbis. Hence, the subjects treated by these poets, being mostly of a religious nature, lending themselves readily to such figures as are employed in the talmudic Agada, were naturally colored by the peculiar mode of expression employed in that literature. Thus, while influenced to a large extent by Arabic poetry as regards the outward form, the Jewish poets always remained on Jewish soil, not only in thought and subject-matter, but also in diction, figure, and allusion.¹⁵

The chief peculiarity of this poem consists in its theme. In the whole realm of mediæval Jewish poetry few poems can be found that deal with a historical event not intimately connected with the history of the Jews. That such poems have not come down to us in large numbers does not prove that they did not exist. It is very likely that some event of great importance stirred the soul of some Jewish poet to compose a song or an elegy, as the case might have required. It merely proves that the Jews of those times, and also of later years, were so much occupied with their own affairs, so much absorbed in the interests of their own religion and history, that they neglected to preserve poems that were not strictly Jewish. Persecution tends to make a people self-centered, especially when solidarity is regarded as the only remedy against entire annihilation. The limited horizon of the mediæval Jews betrays itself chiefly in their devotion to their religion and its observances, and whatever had no direct bearing on faith and ritual was considered of little value. Shut up in the Ghetto by inimical external forces, the Jew voluntarily cramped his interests and aspirations, became callous to events occurring outside of the Ghetto walls, and regarded with indifference incidents that might have stirred the world, but did not directly affect him. Influenced by that particular view-point that the Jew was compelled to take with regard to the outside world, the poets, even those who did not confine themselves to purely religious themes, and wrote on love, wine, and play, produced few poems that deal with secular history. It is therefore of particular interest to find a poem that has but a remote relation to Jewish religion, history, or life, written by a Jew and preserved in a Genizah in a Jewish synagogue.

That the genius of the Hebrew language does not lend itself

readily to a description of battles and sieges can be seen from this poem. Our author is not devoid of poetic genius, and in a few places the narrative is very vivid, and often highly poetic and even thrilling. Still, as a whole, this poem compares very unfavorably with the master-productions of men like Yehudah Halevi, Moses ibn Ezra, and Solomon ibn Gabirol. Influenced by the earlier school of payyëṭanim, whose language is obscure and whose figures are frequently forced, dealing with a subject that is foreign to the Jewish mind and to the Hebrew language, our author produced a poem that is, from the poetic standpoint, of mediocre value only.

There is no particular form of metre followed in this poem, Most of the lines consist of twelve syllables, six in each hemistich, while many¹⁶ follow the regular mètre, very often employed by the payyëṭanim, corresponding to the Arabic Hazaj,¹⁷ which consists of a composite syllable followed by two plain syllables, twice repeated in each hemistich.¹⁸ It is obvious that the author made no conscious effort to retain this metre all through his poem, since the exceptions are too numerous to allow such a suggestion. The rhyme, however, is strictly observed, all lines, with a few exceptions,¹⁹ ending in מים. This is the simplest and easiest rhyme, since it was of little consequence to change a singular into a plural or a feminine into a masculine in order to get this ending. The author does not follow the alphabetical acrostic, common in mediæval Jewish poetry, nor does he make an acrostic of his own name, according to the practice of the payyëṭanim. He introduces his poem with a quotation from the book of Psalms—a book with which he was very familiar—in place of the regular Arabic introduction, “In the name of the most merciful God.” Some might detect in the first five hemistichs an attempt to form an acrostic on the tetragrammaton, a practice largely followed by the later Jewish writers in introducing their compositions. This, however, might have been entirely accidental. The beginning of the poem in l. 3 bears direct signs of Arabic influence.²⁰

Our author freely indulges in creating new forms for words, both in forming plurals for nouns and conjugations for verbs. He does not go quite as far as the earlier payyëṭanim, who created, as Zunz²¹ puts it, “ephemeral creations,” formed for a certain purpose, without any intention to have them become a

part of the language. Still, he frequently deviates from biblical usage in the formation of words and phrases, in most cases for the sake of the rhyme or of completing a line. Of the peculiar plural formations²² may be mentioned such forms as זַעֲמִים (l. 100), גַּשְׁמִים (l. 101), טָלִים (l. 101), יַמִּינִים, שְׂמָאלִים (l. 111), כְּרֻסִּים (l. 129), and others; of masculine endings given to feminine nouns may be mentioned such as כְּלָמִים (l. 98, from כְּלָמָה), נִקְמִים (l. 99, from נִקְמָה), רַנְנִים (ll. 109, 142, from רַנְנָה), בְּמִים (l. 125, from בְּמָה), נִשְׁמִים (l. 127, from נִשְׁמָה), בַּהֲמִים (l. 137, from בַּהֲמָה), and others. Our author, like many of the other pay-yetanim, is very fond of rare words and hapaxlegomena. As examples of these may be cited כָּמָה (l. 9), שְׁפָרִיר (l. 38), רָשִׁם (l. 85), עָגִם (l. 133), סְתִיר (l. 140), and others. Great liberty is taken by the author in making new forms for verbs. Besides using verbs in conjugations not found in the Bible, the author also creates new forms, especially when the rhyme requires it. A legitimate liberty is taken by him in treating verbs *mediae geminatae* after the analogy of trilaterals, as הַתָּמִים for הָתָם (l. 3), הַשְּׁמִים for הָשֵׁם (l. 15), הַהֲמִים for הָהֵם (l. 26), which, however, does not occur in the Hiphil.

A characteristic of this poem is the frequent use of the conjunction ו in the beginning of lines—a usage frequently followed by Arabic²³ and Hebrew²⁴ writers when dealing with subjects that require vivid description. Nearly two-thirds of the lines of this poem begin with ו—a fact that adds vivacity and grace to the description, although much discouraged by more modern writers. The conjunction גם is also used here very often (about fifty-three times), obviously for the same reason. Free use is made of the particle ל, which is used not only to express the indirect object, or with the infinitive to express purpose, but also with verbs that usually take the direct object (*e. g.*, ll. 16, 35, 47, 51, *et al.*). Other peculiarities in style and diction will be noted in the notes to the text.

THE AUTHOR.

The name of the author of this poem, as given at the end of the manuscript, Solomon, son of Joseph, Ha-Kohen, is unknown to Jewish history. The poem itself throws but little light on the life of its author. It can, however, be safely assumed that he was an inhabitant of Fostat or Cairo, and that he lived at the time during which the incident narrated here took place. None

but an eyewitness could have described the siege of Cairo, and the incidents attendant upon the appearance of the enemy at its gates, with such minuteness. The high tribute paid to al-Mustansir and to his vizier Badr indicates that the author lived during the latter part of the reign of Mustansir. The knowledge that the author displays of events occurring at that time in Syria and Palestine points to the same conclusion. These, however, are all the internal evidences of the identity of our author.

More light is thrown upon the descent and family relations of our author by the epithet he attaches to his name. He calls himself **נִינְיָ הַגִּיטִּים** (a descendant of Geonim), and this appellation gives us a clue as to his origin. Among the Genizah fragments, lately discovered by Professor S. Schechter, there is one, known as *Megillat Abyathar*,²⁵ which is of greatest importance to mediæval Jewish history. Professor W. Bacher²⁶ thinks that a new chapter must be added to Jewish history, as constructed from this fragment. From this document we learn that the office of the Gaonate existed in Palestine for a considerable time, after it had ceased in Babylon with the death of Hai Gaon. The *Megillat Abyathar* presents the contention that existed at that time (1083) about the religious jurisdiction over the Jews of Egypt and Palestine. We shall present here a few facts, gathered from this and from other writings, which have a direct bearing upon the descent and relations of the author of our poem.

Hai, son of Sherira, gaon of Pumbedita, died in 1038. The gaonate in Babylon, which was intrusted with the Jewish religious affairs for nearly four and a half centuries, then came to a close. For a short time²⁷ after the death of Hai, the office of the gaonate was assumed by Hezekiah, the exilarch, but this was merely nominal—a shadow of the original position. Already during the life of the last gaon, Hai, there is mention of the existence of an academy in Palestine, which assumed the same functions as those exercised by the academies presided over by the Babylonian Geonim.²⁸ In a fragment, published by Dr. Neubauer,²⁹ Solomon ben Yehudah is mentioned as the gaon of Palestine in 1046.³⁰ Joseph, the son of Solomon, is supposed to have been the gaon until 1054, when he died.³¹ The gaonate then passed over to Daniel ben Azariah, a scion of the exilarch family. When Daniel died in 1062,³² Elijah, the brother of Joseph, became gaon and ruled the Diaspora until 1094. When

Jerusalem was wrested from the hands of the Fatimide caliph by Atsiz ibn 'Auk in 1071,³³ the gaon and his academy moved to Tyre. Abyathar, the son of Elijah, became gaon after his father's death, and, in order to vindicate his position against the pretenses of David ben Daniel, the descendant of the Babylonian exilarchs, who was proclaimed exilarch in Egypt, where he had many supporters, and attempted to make also the Palestinian Jews bow to his authority, Abyathar wrote the above-mentioned Megillah (1094). While Abyathar remained in Tyre, the next generation of geonim lived in Egypt.³⁴

There can be but little doubt that this Solomon ben Joseph Ha-Kohen, the descendant of Geonim, was a member of the illustrious family of Palestinian Geonim, who prided themselves on their priestly descent. It is, however, uncertain whether he was the son of Joseph who died in 1054. The fact that Joseph lived in Palestine, while our author was apparently an inhabitant of Fostat, would not militate against this supposition. The Jewish communities of Egypt and Palestine were at that time united by many ties. While during the lifetime of Joseph there seemed to have been a feud between these communities on account of the intrigues of Daniel ben Azariah,³⁵ after the death of the latter, in 1062, peace was restored, and the Egyptian Jewish community willingly submitted to the authority of the Palestinian Geonim.³⁶ It is therefore not at all improbable that, after the death of his father, Solomon should have settled in Egypt. His praises of Mustanşir and of the government in general, although the government had supported Daniel,³⁷ is not at all strange. The Jews were always well disposed toward the Fatimide caliphs and neglected no opportunity to express their gratitude for the kind treatment accorded them. This was especially so in the case of Mustanşir, toward whom the Jews entertained the most friendly feelings.³⁸ Joseph probably died young, since his brother Elijah, who succeeded him in the gaonate, lived thirty years after Joseph's death.³⁹ Solomon, the son of Joseph, might have been quite a young man in 1077, when the event narrated in this poem occurred. In a *testatum*, copied from Fragment T.-S. 20. 31, dated 1092, and apparently written in Fostat, a Solomon Ha-Kohen, son of Joseph, "the father of the academy,"⁴⁰ is mentioned. It is very tempting to identify this Solomon with the author of our poem.

Among the Genizah fragments now in the possession of David Werner Amram, Esq., of Philadelphia, there is one that bears directly upon our subject, and that may serve to clear up the genealogy of this gaonic family. It is a prayer, probably read in the synagogue on the sabbath, for the souls of illustrious dead,⁴¹ and contains the names of Geonim, Negidim, rabbis, and so forth. In the list of the family of Geonim, the following passage occurs, which rather conflicts with the accepted theory about this family: "For the good memory of the dead, the memory of the Geonim of Israel . . . until our lord and master Solomon Ha-Kohen, the chief of the academy Geon Jacob,⁴² and his son Elijah Ha-Kohen, the chief of the academy Geon Jacob, and his brother Joseph Ha-Kohen, the father of the court of justice for all Israel."⁴³ The fact that Joseph is mentioned after Elijah, and is not given the regular title of "chief of the academy Geon Jacob," borne by the other Geonim, but is called the "father of the court of justice," is rather perplexing. In view of this fragment and of other evidences, I beg to submit the following theory:

It was customary for the eldest son of a gaon to bear the title of "father of the court of justice," or that of "father of the academy." These two titles seem to have been interchangeable, so that one and the same man might be called at one time by one title and another time by the other.⁴⁴ It is probable that Joseph, the eldest son of the gaon Solomon, also bore this twofold title during the lifetime of his father. Soon after Solomon's death, Daniel ben Azariah, supported by the government, began his feud against the Palestinian gaonic family, and prevented Joseph from assuming the title of gaon, so that Joseph was really never recognized officially as gaon, and remained up to his death with the title of "father of the court of justice" or "father of the academy." The fact that Abyathar in his Megillah designates him as gaon,⁴⁵ merely proves that he recognized him as such, but in official documents, such as the memorial prayer and the *testatum*, he was known only by his official title. Solomon, the son of Joseph, was perhaps too young at the time of Daniel's death, when peace was restored in the community, to claim the title of gaon, which really belonged to him by right of descent, he being the son of Joseph, the eldest son of Solomon. Thus the gaonate passed over to Elijah, Solomon's uncle. In 1082, however, when Elijah called a meeting of all Israel at Tyre and appointed his son

Abyathar as his successor in the gaonate, his son Solomon as the "father of the court of Justice," and a stranger, Zadok, son of Josiah, as "the father,"⁴⁶ Solomon, son of Joseph, was displeased, and perhaps gave his support to David, the son of Daniel, the exilarch, who attempted to wrest the authority of the Palestinian Geonim. The *testatum* quoted above was drawn up in "the great court of the lord David the exilarch, son of our lord Daniel Gaon, the Nasi of all Israel"; hence Solomon withheld from mentioning his father's name as Joseph *Gaon*, but refers to him merely as "father of the academy," the title which he held officially. This would still further explain the reason for the great adulation the author gives in this poem to Mustansir and his court, who is similiary praised by David in another fragment.⁴⁷ This suggestion, although not essential to the establishment of the identity of our author, merits some consideration at the hands of scholars. I expect, in the near future, to publish the memorial prayer in Mr. Amram's collection.

THE TEXT.

COLUMN 1.

	יִי לֹאֲרֵךְ יָמִים ⁴⁹	יִי יִדִין עַמִּים ⁴⁸
	וְהוּא אָבִי הַיְתוּמִים ⁵⁰	הוּא דִיין אֱלֻמְנוֹת
	אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וְגַם הַתְּמִים ⁵³	הָרֵאִית ⁵¹ נִפְלְאוֹת אֵל ⁵²
	נֶאֱחָז קֶדֶר ⁵⁵ הַתְּמִים ⁵⁴	וְגַם הִצִּיל לְבֵית עָלֵי ⁵⁴
5	הַגִּיד תַּעֲלוּמִים ⁵⁶	הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגְּדוֹל אֲשֶׁר
	מֵעַד הוֹאֵבֵא תָמִים ⁵⁷	אֱלֻמְסַתְנָצַר בְּאַלְלָה
	וְגַם יִהְיֶה לְקִיּוּמִים ⁵⁸	יְחִי לְעַד בְּרוּךְ הַטּוֹב
	הַטְּהוּרִים ⁵⁹ הַשְּׁלֵמִים ⁶⁰	הַכֹּהֵן בֶּן כַּהֲנִים
	לְכַהֲנֹתָ ⁶² בְּנֵי אֲדָמִים ⁶³	וְגַם בְּנֵי הַכַּמִּיּוֹתִים ⁶¹
10	בְּנִפְשׁוֹתָם לְלִחְוִמִים ⁶⁴	וְגַם עַבְדֵּי הָאוֹהֲבִים
	יִחְיֶיהוּ דֶּר מַעֲוֹנִים ⁶⁶	וּבְרָאשֵׁם קִצִּין ⁶⁵ צַבָּאוֹת
	אֲשֶׁר הוּא רֹאשׁ לְכָל רֹאשִׁים בְּכָל גּוֹיִם וְכָל אַמִּים	אֲשֶׁר הוּא רֹאשׁ לְכָל רֹאשִׁים בְּכָל גּוֹיִם וְכָל אַמִּים
	לֹא יִבּוֹשׁ כְּנַעֲלִמִים ⁶⁷	אֲשֶׁר אֹרֹר כְּאוֹר שֶׁמֶשׁ
	עַל כָּל אוֹיְבִים וְכָל קָמִים	אֲשֶׁר חָרְבוּ מִרוּטָה ⁶⁸
15	וְגַם כָּלֶם וְגַם הַשְּׁמַיִם	לְתַכְלִיחָם ⁶⁹ זָמְנוּ ⁷⁰ אֵל
	אֲשֶׁר בָּנוּם עָלֵי רְמִים ⁷¹	לְטִירוֹתָם וְאַרְמִיּוֹתָם
	דִּין צֶדֶק בְּאַשְׁמִימִים	וְגַם חֶתֶךְ ⁷² רֵאשִׁיהֶם
	יֵאֵיִלְחוּ ⁷³ לְעוֹלָמִים	יִשְׁגְּבוּהוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
	אֲשֶׁר רִיחָם מִבּוֹשְׁמִים ⁷⁴	וְשִׁמְשׁוּ וְכָל עַבְדֵּי
20	וְהַכְּבוֹד בְּסִיּוּמִים ⁷⁶	וּבְרָאשֵׁם זֶקֶן הַהוֹר ⁷⁵

	כמו אחים מותאמים ⁷⁷	האהוב הנאמן
	לעזרהו בכל פנים ⁷⁸	ישמחהו צורינו
	סגול עם ⁸⁰ ראש לכל עמים	יערב לך ⁷⁹ שרינו
	רוב ברכות ורוב שלומים ⁸¹	קחה מנחה ומנוחה
25	ברוב חידה והגיונים ⁸⁵	ותן ⁸² קידה ⁸³ מיתידה ⁸⁴
	והבחיד צר וגם ההמים ⁸⁷	לאל עֶזֶר וגם נָצַר ⁸⁶
	הישרים התמימים	וגם הישִׁישׁ ⁸⁸ בני אל חי ⁸⁹
	ומתעים וגם צמים	אשר עשו רוב צדקות ⁹⁰
	וגם לילות וגם ימים ⁹³	ושואלים ⁹¹ כל שבועים ⁹²
30	הצור פעלו תמים ⁹⁴	לאל החי והשדי
	וגם ענם ממרומים	והעתירים ⁹⁵ להסתירים ⁹⁶
	ולא קשרת ולא סמים	בלא מנחה ולא קרבן ⁹⁷
	ולא תומים ולא חלומים ⁹⁸	ולא נבואה ולא אורים
	וגם הימיט לפעמים	וגם חציב למכמורת ⁹⁹
35	להקריבו אל תהומים ¹⁰¹	וגם פיתה ללב ¹⁰⁰ אויב
	וגם דרכו ¹⁰² האגמים ¹⁰³	ויעברו הנהרות
	כנוטרים ונוקמים ¹⁰⁴	ויהיו כאֲוִיבִים
	בזוז וגם שפוך דמים	ונכנסו כמו שפריר ¹⁰⁵
	וגם פתחו האסמים ¹⁰⁶	וגם גלו העריות
40	וגם נאזר בנרקמים ¹⁰⁸	והם עם זר מתאכזר ¹⁰⁷
	וגם ראשים לאמים ¹¹¹	מהומשים ¹⁰⁹ משולשים ¹¹⁰
	בם שחורים ואדומים	וגם לובשים קובעות ¹¹²
	בנות אשפה ¹¹⁴ בפנימים	וגם קשת וגם כידון ¹¹³
	וינהמו כהמות ¹¹⁶ ימים	ויצַעֲקוּ כמו פילים ¹¹⁵
45	אשר ¹¹⁷ למולם ¹¹⁸ מתקוממים	להרעים להפחידם

COLUMN 2.

	לשוב אָחור מערימים	ויתגודדו ¹¹⁹ כגלי ים
	במו מרימה מתרמים	וללשונם מלעיגים ¹²⁰
	וערביאים ואדומים ¹²³	מעורבבים ¹²¹ ארמיים ¹²²
	ורישתים ¹²⁶ ותוגרמים ¹²⁷	ויוונים ¹²⁴ ראשכזים ¹²⁵
50	כשוטים ¹²⁸ לא כחלומים ¹²⁹	וגם רעים וחטאים
	וגם היו לשומימים ¹³⁰	וישאף הערים
	וגם לנחול כמדומים ¹³²	וישמחו בלפוחם ¹³¹
	יהתלו ¹³⁴ בו הקוסמים	ונמלך ¹³³ הוא במנחשים
	ולמארב הם שמים	ומחנותם מסיעים
55	לעבדיהם נתחמים ¹³⁵	והם פוחדים וגם אומרים
	ועיניהם נעצמים ¹³⁶	ונכשלו ונחשלו
	בני זמות וגם זמים ¹³⁸	ונלכדו בשחיתות ¹³⁷
	וחטאותם החתומים ¹³⁹	וזכר אל עונותם

	וצוררים כל היקומים ¹⁴⁰	ורעותם אלי כל איש
60	ודיכך ¹⁴¹ בם דומימים ¹⁴²	והפילם והשפילם
	אנשי הירושלמים	וגם זמר עשותם עם
	שתי שנים שני פעמים ¹⁴³	אשר הוצרו להם
	והחריבו המקומים	וגם שרפו הגדישים
	וירמסו הכרמים	ויקצצו העצים
65	על ההרים הרמים	ויסובכו את העיר
	והשליכו העצמים	והחריבו הקברים
	לחסות בה מחמים	וגם בנו ארמונים
	הרוג עליו הזעומים ¹⁴⁴	והציבו מזבח
	רוכבים עלי החומים	והאנשים והנשים
70	לשכך רוב החמים ¹⁴⁶	צועקים אל אל אלים ¹⁴⁵
	להניסה לתנומים	עומדים כל הלילה
	ומעריבים ומשכימים	והאויבים מחריבים
	ויהשפו ¹⁴⁸ האדמים	וירעו הארצות ¹⁴⁷
	עשות כקץ דומימים	והם עומדים על דרכים
75	וגם האק משלימים	והותכים האזניים
	להציגם עירומים ¹⁴⁹	וישללו המלבושים
	וככפירים להמים	וגם ישאגו כאריות
	ולחיות הם דומים	ולא ידמו בני אדם
	ובזכרים נחמים ¹⁵⁰	וגם זונות וגם זונים
80	ומכעיסים כסדומים	וגם רעים והטאים
	והרעיבו למונעמים ¹⁵²	וירוששו בני טובים ¹⁵¹
	ובשדה הם הומים	ויצאו כל בני העיר
	מכאבם דומימים ¹⁵⁴	וגם עוטים על שפם ¹⁵³
	ולא חסו על יתומים	ולא ריחמו אלמנות
85	והטאותם נרשמים ¹⁵⁵	ומה יעשו ואן יחסו
	וראשיהם החכמים ¹⁵⁶	ושריהם הם התעום
	ולחרע מחוכמים ¹⁵⁷	סוררים הם וגנבים
	להנהיגם לבלומים ¹⁵⁹	ותעלולים ¹⁵⁸ בם מושלים
	ויזים ¹⁶¹ נזרמים ¹⁶²	וקינא אל ¹⁶⁰ למקדש אל

COLUMN 3.

90	גלויות גם נעלמים ¹⁶³	על רוע מעשיהם
	וישנו הכתמים ¹⁶⁴	וישנו דתות אל
	ומגיעים דם בדמים ¹⁶⁵	ומרצחים ומרכילים
94	בתוך עומקי התהומים	באר שחת להורידם
95	ולא יראו בנעמים	יאבדם ימחה זכרם ¹⁶⁶
	עם גתלי הרתמים ¹⁶⁷	תהא עליהם יוקדת
	תהא בושה וכלמים	עוונותם אם נספר

	וגם שלח לנקמים	מהמטם כעס אל
	כלך ומרצחים	
93	נתוספו על קדומים ¹⁶⁸	והטאים החדשים
	ברוב האף ובזעמים	ובא יחריב עולמו
100	וגם טלים וגשמים	וגם מנע הרביבים
	ולא רוח התלמים ¹⁶⁹	וגם חרבו העיינות
	ולעמורה הם נדמים ¹⁷⁰	וגם היו כסדומים
	להכחדם כחרמים ¹⁷¹	אזי הגביר לאויב
	הובילם על הלומים ¹⁷³	ואשורים וצפונים ¹⁷²
105	בקול המולה וברעמים	ובא חצר עלי מבצר
	אספל	כלך לכדה
110		ודמו מלוך למו פסטאט ¹⁷⁴
		ועיניהם נשתמים ¹⁷⁵
106	כמו קרני הראימים ¹⁷⁶	ברוב מחולות ובדגלים
	וגם פתח לסחומים	ונכנס צר אלי אוצר
	במזל טוב ¹⁷⁸ וברגלים ¹⁷⁹	והלך צר לדמשק ¹⁷⁷
	כמות ¹⁸⁰ מאתים ימים ¹⁸¹	לכדה גם ישב בה
111	הסמוכה בעננים ¹⁸²	ובא ורץ אל עיר המלוכה
	לכל גויים וכל אמים	הידועה כמו קאהרה
	ובם הראש למחכימים	ויץ ¹⁸³ מתנה לעזורים
	מבני כוש בני המים	וצג ¹⁸⁴ הגלים כעמודים
115	ורוב אימות והאימים ¹⁸⁵	ובא האיש ברוב הימות
	משמאולים ומימינים	וערביאים והגריאים ¹⁸⁶
	לבלוע (ב) עממים ¹⁸⁷	ובא אויב ברוב גאון
	הניא מחשבות עמים ¹⁸⁸	צור הפיר עצת גוים
	(ב) ת עיש וגם קמים ¹⁹⁰	והמזל אזי שפל ¹⁸⁹
121	(ויש) מע אל הרהומים ¹⁹¹	ב וצעקו בני אברהם
120	עזורי נין זמזמים ¹⁹²	א ונצחום עדת עלי
122	ויהרוג מלכים עצומים ¹⁹³	למיכה מלכים גדולים
	כמו חרשים וכאלמים ¹⁹⁴	וצוה אל היות אויבים
	בני במות וגם במים	ולא רצם ולא חלצם
125	היו חללים גם דרומים ¹⁹⁶	ועד שעה בפגיעה ¹⁹⁵
	וגם עפו הנשמים ¹⁹⁷	ונגזרו ראשיהם

COLUMN 4.

	ינאים זאת הנאומים ¹⁹⁹	ומי היה ומי יהיה ¹⁹⁸
	ויירשום בפרסומים ²⁰⁰	ובזוזם ושללום
	בדודאים על שכמים ²⁰¹	וגם באו הראשים
130	ועוז מזל בנתיפונים ²⁰³	פני מלך מצאוי חתן ²⁰²

	וקיצוצם בקרדומים	וגם צוה לשיבורם
	לרפא לב העגומים	ושלחם למדינות ²⁰⁴
	ורוחותם נפעמים ²⁰⁵	אשר היו כשכורים
	ויש מהם נפעמים ²⁰⁷	יש מהם על תוכנם ²⁰⁶
135	היה לאבני דומים ²⁰⁹	ופום ממליל דברבנים ²⁰⁸
	לחיות ולבהמים	ונבלחם מושלכת ²¹⁰
	לתולעות וגם רמים	והנשאר בגויותם
	המרים המרים עצמים ²¹¹	וגם יתרים הצבירים
	ולסתווים ²¹² ולחמים ²¹³	לקץ ולחורק
140	המכסה ברוב רחמים	וזה מעשה המנסה
	ובקשו אל ברננים	עשו צדקות והודאות
	היתה לראש הפנים ²¹⁴	אבן מאסו הבונים
	כי נרצו מאלמים אלמים ²¹⁵	בוא יבוא ברנה
	ודבירים ואולמים	תזכו לבנין בית
145	והבנות והבנים	גם הטק והנשים
147	לחדש שבט ובשנים	יום שני ארבע נשאר
	ולחורבן משטמים ²¹⁶	שנת דתחלז ליצירה
	בן יהוסף נין גאונים ²¹⁷	שלמה הוא הקהן
146	וכל מעשיו באמונים ²¹⁸	כי ישר דבר יי
		כלה גם הטק
150	יקרה היא כפנינים ²²⁰	ואם תמנה מנה ק(ט)ב ²¹⁹

TRANSLATION.

- The Lord judgeth nations; the Lord, forever and ever;
 He is the judge of widows, and He is the father of orphans.
 Hast thou seen the wonders of God, which he did and also completed?
 How he saved the house of 'Ali, the dwellings of Kedar, the perfect—
5. The great king who relateth hidden things,
 Al-Mustansir b'Illahi, Ma'ad Abu Tamim,
 May he live forever in abundance of good, and may he be established eternally,
 The priest, son of priests, the pure, the perfect—
 And also his sons, who long for the priesthood, the sons of nations—
10. And also his servants, who love to battle at the risk of their lives,
 And at their head, the captain of the hosts, (may He who dwells in
 the upper abodes grant him life),
 Who is chief over all chiefs, of all peoples and of all nations,
 Whose light is like the light of the sun, who is not abashed like
 those who are ashamed,
 Whose sword is sharpened against all enemies and all those that
 rise up against him;

15. God appointed him to destroy them, and he did indeed destroy
them and laid waste
Their walls and their palaces, which they built on the heights,
And cut off their heads; a righteous judgment against the guilty!
May our God strengthen him, may he strengthen him forever!
And his servitors and all his servants, whose odor is fragrant,
20. And at their head, the glorious old man, distinguished in honors,
The faithful friend, (he and the king) like twin brothers;
May our Creator preserve him, help him at every turn!
May it please you, our lord, beloved of the people, head of all nations,
Accept tribute and repose, many blessings and much peace.
25. And give cassia of the only one, with much thought and devotion,
To God who helped and saved, who destroyed the enemy and
utterly confounded (them),
And rejoiced the children of the living God, the upright, the perfect ones,
Who did much charity, and afflicted themselves and also fasted,
And prayed for weeks, both day and night,
30. To the living God, the Almighty, the Rock, whose work is perfect.
And he granted their prayers for protection, and answered them
from on high,
(Although they came) without meal-offering, without sacrifice, without
incense, without spices,
Without prophecy, without Urim, without Tumim, without dreams.
And He ensnared the enemy and often overthrew them,
35. And he lured on the enemy to bring them to the boundary.
And they crossed the streams, and passed over the lagoons,
And they were like (mortal) foes, as those who are vindictive and
revengeful,
And they entered Fostat, robbed and murdered,
And ravished and pillaged the storehouses;
40. They were a strange and cruel people, girt with garments of many
colors,
Armed and officered—chiefs among “the terrible ones”—
And capped with hemlets, black and red,
With bow and spear and full quivers;
And they trumpet like elephants, and roar as the roaring ocean,
45. To terrify, to frighten those who oppose them,
And press forward as the waves of the sea, they cunningly devise
their retreat,
And they stammer with their tongues, they endeavor to beguile with
craftiness;
They are mingled of Armenians, Arabs, and Edomites,
And Greeks and Germans, Paphlogonians and Turks;
50. And they are wicked men and sinners, madmen, not sane,
And they laid waste the cities, and they were made desolate
And they rejoiced in their hearts, hoping to inherit.

- But when (their chief) consulted the soothsayers, the diviners
mocked him.
And they broke camp, and placed (men) in ambush,
55. And they hastened in fear, and also told their servants, "let us
depart from the boundary!" (?)
And they stumbled and became weak, and their eyes were blinded,
And they were caught in the net—the sons of adultery.
And God remembered their iniquities and their sins that are sealed,
And their evil deeds against all men, that they harassed all creatures.
60. And He overthrew them and humbled them and crushed all the
hopeful among them.
He also remembered what they had done to the people of Jerusalem,
That they besieged them twice in two years,
And burned the heaped corn and destroyed the places,
And cut down the trees and trampled upon the vineyards,
65. And surrounded the city upon the high mountains,
And despoiled the graves and threw out the bones,
And built palaces, to protect themselves against the heat,
And erected an altar to slay upon it the abominations;
And the men and the women ride upon the walls,
70. Crying unto the God of gods, to quiet the great anger,
Standing the whole night, banishing sleep,
While the enemy destroy, evening and morning,
And break down the earth, and lay bare the ground,
And stand on the highways, intending to slay like Cain,
75. And cut off the ears, and also the nose,
And rob the garments, leaving them stand naked,
And also roar like lions, and roar like young lions;
They do not resemble men, they are like beasts,
And also harlots and adulterers, and they inflame themselves with
males,
80. They are bad and wicked, spiteful as the Sodomites.
And they impoverished the sons of nobles, and starved the delicately
bred.
And all the people of the city went out and cried in the field,
And covered their lips, silent in their pains,
And they had no mercy on widows, and pitied not the orphans.
85. What should they do, whither should they seek protection, since
their sins are recorded?
Their princes led them astray, their chiefs, the wise ones;
They are robbers and thieves, they are wise only to do evil;
Children rule over them, leading them with a halter.
But God was jealous for his sanctuary, and scattered them over-
whelmed.
90. Because of their evil deeds, the revealed and also the hidden:
They changed the laws of God, they multiplied iniquities,
They are murderers and slanderers, cause blood to touch blood,

- And new sins were added to the early ones,
 To lower them to the pit of destruction, into the depths of the deep;
 95. He will destroy them, He will wipe off their memory, and they
 shall not see pleasantness,
 A burning shall be upon them, even burning coals:
 Should we attempt to count their sins, it would be a shame and a
 disgrace.
- Because of their violence, God was wroth and sent vengeance,
 And he came, destroyed the world, with much wrath and anger,
 100. And He also withheld the early rain, also dew and rain,
 The springs were dried up and the beds were not watered.
 They were like Sodomites, they resembled (the people of) Gomorrah.
 Then he allowed the enemy to prevail, in order to uproot them
 (later) with utter destruction.
 And the Assyrians and the Northerners, he led them for the purpose
 of striking them down.
105. And the enemy came to the fortress, with a noise of roaring and of
 thunder,
 With much dancing and with banners, like the horns of the Re'em.
 And the enemy entered the treasury, and opened the hidden places
 And the enemy went to Damascus, with a happy star and with
 songs,
 And they captured it and dwelt therein, for about two hundred days.
110. And they expected to reign in Fostat, but their eyes were blinded.
 And they came in haste to the royal city, that is protected by clouds,
 That is known as Cairo, to all peoples and all nations.
 And there came forth the camp of the saved ones, and among them
 was the chief of the wise,
 And placed flags like columns, for the sons of Kush, the sons of
 Ham.
115. And the chief came with great anger and with great terror,
 And Arabians and Hagrites, to the left and to the right,
 And the enemy came with much arrogance, to swallow up the
 nations.
 But the Rock brought to naught the counsel of nations, He made
 of none effect the devices of peoples.
 And their star declined, the daughters of Arcturus and Pleiades,
120. And the hosts of 'Ali conquered them—the saved, the descendants
 of Zamzumim;
 The children of Abraham cried [and the merciful God harkened],
 To him who smites great kings and slays mighty kings.
 And God commanded that the enemy should be like the deaf and
 the dumb,
 And he did not favor them, and He did not save them—the wor-
 shippers at high places,
125. And ere He turned to their supplication, they were slain and
 dead(?),

- And their heads were cut off, and their souls fled away.
 He who was and will be saith these words.
 And they robbed them and spoiled them, and vanquished them by
 cutting them off.
 And their chiefs came, with baskets upon their shoulders,
 130. Seeking the accustomed favor of the king, and a happy fate by
 their submission (?),
 But he commanded to crush them and to cut them up with axes,
 And sent them to the provinces to heal the sorrowful hearts,
 (Of those) who were like drunken men, whose spirits were troubled,
 Some of them remained sound, others were wounded.
 135. And the mouth that boasted of great things, became like a speech-
 less stone.
 And their corpses were cast to the wild beasts and animals,
 And the remainder of their bodies, for worms and lizards,
 And the remainder they gathered up in large heaps of bones,
 For summer and winter, for autumn and spring.
 140. And this is the work of the Tester, who protecteth with the multi-
 tude of His compassion.
 Do ye charity and give thanks and pray to God with song.
 The stone that the builders rejected is become the corner-stone.
 He shall enter with song, for the binders of the sheaves were
 favored.
 Ye shall live to see the building of the House, the Temple, and its
 halls,
 145. Also the children and the women, the daughters and the sons,
 For the word of God is upright, and all His works are faithful.
 The second day, four were left in the month of Shebat, and in years,
 The year 4837 from the creation, and from the destruction (of the
 Temple) 1009.
 Solomon, he is the priest, son of Joseph, descendant of Geonim.
 150. And if you would count, count 149 (spell "destruction"). It is
 more precious than pearls.

REFERENCES.

¹ In the autumn of 1896; cf. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. V, s. v.; D. Kauffmann, in the Hebrew monthly *Hashiloah*, Vol. II, pp. 385, 481. Many of these fragments have been edited and published in various issues of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1896-1905) and other magazines.

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² Raphe; cf. König, *Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1881), Vol. I, p. 41; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1889), §142.

³ The main source for this sketch is Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden Chalifen*, in "Abhandlungen der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen," Vol. XXVII (Göttingen, 1881).

⁴ Maḳrīzī, Vol. I, p. 355; cf. Ibn Khallikan, *Biographical Dictionary*, translated by de Slane (Paris, 1842), Vol. III, p. 382.

⁵ Gibbons, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. Smith (London, 1887), Vol. VII, pp. 155-66; cf. Müller, *Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendlande* (Berlin, 1885), Vol. I, p. 636.

⁶ Ibn Khallikan, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Cf. Wüstenfeld, *loc. cit.*, pp. 26-28, who quotes Ṣujutī (Bulak), Vol. II, pp. 92 and 117, where a list of thirty-nine viziers and forty-two chief kadīs is given.

⁸ See Wüstenfeld, *loc. cit.*, p. 36.

⁹ Maḳrīzī, Vol. I, p. 382; cf. Ibn Khallikan, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 612, 613, where a very interesting incident is related about the advent of Badr at Mustanṣir's court.

¹⁰ Wüstenfeld, *loc. cit.*, p. 38; Besant and Palmer, *Jerusalem* (New York, 1890), pp. 120-22.

¹¹ *Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1855); *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie* (Berlin, 1865).

¹² *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Poesie* (Leipzig, 1836).

¹³ *Zur Kenntniss der neuhebräischen religiösen Poesie* (Frankfurt, 1842).

¹⁴ *Jüdische Dichtungen der spanischen und italienischen Schule* (Leipzig, 1856); *Divan des Abu'l Hassan Juda ha-Levi* (Breslau, 1851); *Salomo Gabirol und seine Dichtungen* (Leipzig, 1867).

¹⁵ Cf. Dukes, *loc. cit.*, especially pp. 16-29, 112-35.

¹⁶ *E. g.*, ll. 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 26, 28, *et al.*

¹⁷ Cf. Caspari-Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 3d ed., Vol. II, p. 360.

¹⁸ ∪ - - - | ∪ - - - || ∪ - - - | ∪ - - - ||. The Hebrew name for this metre is יתד ושתי תנועות, יתד ושתי תנועות, בדלת וכן בסוגר. This is the metre adopted in the well-known hymn of the Jewish liturgy beginning with the line

אַדָּוֶן עוֹלָם אֲשֶׁר מְלֶכֶךְ, בְּתָרָם קָל יִצְיָר נִבְרָא

See Rosin, *Abraham Ibn Ezra* (Breslau, 1885), Introduction, § 6, p. 9.

¹⁹ Ll. 11, 22, 25, 109, 112, 117, 131, 142, 143, 146, 147, 148, 150 end in כִּי־.

²⁰ See note 51.

²¹ *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, p. 30.

²² See Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 118, and *Beilage*, pp. 374-77.

²³ Cf. Nöldeke, *Delectus Veterum Carminum Arabicorum* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 64, 70, 75, 77 79, *et al.*

²⁴ Cf. Ibn Ezra, ed. Kahana, Vol. I, pp. 156-60 (poems on chess play), pp. 191-204 (elegy on the destruction of Jewish communities in Spain); Halevi, ed. Harkavy, Vol. I, pp. 25-31 *et al.*

²⁵ Schechter, *Saadyana* (Cambridge, 1903), Fragment XXXVIII, pp. 80-104.

²⁶ *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XV, pp. 79-96.

²⁷ Two years, according to Ibn Daud, *Sefer Ha-Kabbalah*, ed. Neubauer, *Mediæval Jewish Chronicles*, Vol. I, p. 67; cf. Gratz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Vol. VI, p. 14; a longer period according to *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, ed. Neubauer, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 177; cf. Bacher *loc. cit.*, p. 80.

²⁸ *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XIV, p. 233.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 178.

³⁰ Bacher, *loc. cit.*, p. 82; Epstein in the *Monatsschrift*, Vol. XLVII, p. 345, objects to Bacher's assumption on the ground that Solomon ben Yehudah is not mentioned as a Kohen, a pedigree of which the Palestinian Geonim were particularly proud. Posnanski, however, in his *Schechters Saadyana* (Frankfort, 1903), agrees with Bacher. Cf. Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 81, n. 1. That the gaon preceding Joseph was called Solomon is further supported by the fragment in Amram's collection, referred to later.

³¹ Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 88, l. 12.

³² *Ibid.*, l. 15.

³³ See "Historical Sketch," p. 5.

³⁴ Bacher, *loc. cit.*, p. 92, and *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. V, p. 572.

³⁵ Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 88, ll. 9, 10.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, l. 18.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

³⁸ Cf. Schechter, *loc. cit.*, Fragment XL; Goldziher, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XV pp. 73, 74.

³⁹ Died 1084; Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 89, l. 23.

⁴⁰ שלמה הכהן ביר' יוסה אב הישיבה זצ"ל, quoted *ibid.*, p. 81, n. 2, last name.

⁴¹ Cf. Gaster, in *Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kauffmann* (Breslau, 1900), pp. 230, 241, Nos. XV and XVI.

⁴² ראש ישיבת גאון יעקב was the name of the Palestinian academy, and the title גאון יעקב was the official title borne by the Geonim; cf. Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 81, n. 1.

⁴³ אב בית דין של כל ישראל.

⁴⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 82, n. 4.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 88, l. 8, יוסה הכהן ואליהו הכהן שני גאונים.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 88, ll. 17-19.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Fragment XII.

⁴⁸ Ps. 96:10; cf. Ps. 9:9.

⁴⁹ Ps. 93:5.

⁵⁰ Cf. Ps. 68:6.

⁵¹ Arabic influence. It is the custom of Arabic poets to begin their poems with a rhetorical question. Cf. Ibn Hisham, 516, 517; Ibn Athir, 3, 152, *et al.*

⁵² Job 37:14; cf. Mic. 7:15; Ps. 78:11. See Schechter, *Saadyana*, פלאות להראות (Cambridge, 1893), Fragment XVII, l. 6, p. 46.

⁵³ Analogy of trilaterals for the purpose of perfecting the rhyme. The regular form would be הָהֶם; cf. 2 Sam. 20:18.

⁵⁴ Regular appellation of the Fatimide dynasty of caliphs.

⁵⁵ Mentioned in the Bible as the son of Ishmael (Gen. 25:13; 1 Chron. 1:29); also as the name of a tribe of nomads in the Arabian desert (Isa. 21:16; 42:11; 60:7; Jer. 2:10; 49:28; Ezek. 27:21; *et al.*). In mediæval Jewish literature this name was used generically for all Mohammedans. See Ibn Ezra's commentary to Dan. 11:30, זהו הקדרי ראש מלכות, also Rosin's edition of Ibn Ezra's *Poems* (Breslau, 1887), Vol. II, p. 90, n. 6; Halevi, ed. Harkavy (Warsaw, 1893), Vol. II, p. 11; Al-Charizi, *Tachkemoni*, ed. Kaminka (Warsaw, 1899), pp. 8, 118; Schechter, *loc. cit.*, Fragment XXIII, verso l. 8, p. 50. Kedar is also supposed to have been the ancestor of Mohammed himself, according to Arabic tradition; see Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, Vol. I, 175, quoted in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. VIII, p. 462.

⁵⁶ Cf. Job 11:6. Masculine instead of feminine ending (Ps. 44:22) for the sake of the rhyme.

⁵⁷ The full name of the caliph is **المستنصر بالله ابو تميم معد**. The author transferred the last phrase for the sake of the rhyme and added **הוא**, the last א of which is also to be joined to the next word.

⁵⁸ The word **קדם**, which is frequently used by the mediæval payyetanim as one of the epithets by which God is described (cf. **הי רקים נורא ומרום וקדוש**, used as a refrain in various parts of the liturgy for the holidays; cf. Berakoth, 32a), is probably borrowed from the Arabic **قَدِيمٌ** "lasting, unchangeable, God." Cf. Ben Sira [ed. Levi], 42:23, note m.

⁵⁹ **טהור** denoting ethical purity is found only in the later books of the Bible (Job 14:4; Prov. 22:11), and rarely used as a noun (cf. Eccles. 9:2, where it is used in parallelism with **צדיק** and **טוב**). In rabbinic and mediæval Jewish literature this word is also rarely used as a noun (cf. Baba Mezia', 86a, **טהור ונשמחך טהור**).

⁶⁰ Cf. Shabbath, 33b, in interpretation of Gen. 33:18. In later Hebrew **שלם** is used in a more abstract sense, denoting intellectual and moral perfection. It is frequently employed in the long epithets preceding the name of one to whom a letter is addressed, either with or without the word **החכם**.

⁶¹ Hapax., Ps. 63:2.

⁶² **כהונה** as applied to the caliphate, and **כהן** (l. 8) to the caliph, is rather unusual.

The Arabic **كاهِنٌ** (*Kor.*, LII, 29) is applied to a soothsayer, usually the instrument of a demon. It is sometimes also used in the sense of priest. The Hebrew **כהן**, besides its regular meaning, is sometimes used to denote a king or a prince (Gen. 14:18; Exod. 2:16; 3:1; 18:1; Zech. 6:13; cf. 2 Sam. 8:18, where the children of David are called **כהנים**; also 20:26, where Ira the Jairite is called **כהן לדוד**). From Gen. 14:18 it appears that the king, who also performed priestly functions, was given the name of **כהן**. This may be the reason why our author uses this designation for the Egyptian caliph, who was regarded as the ecclesiastical chief of the Mohammedan world, at least by his followers.

⁶³ This plural of אֶמְהָ is found only once (Ps. 117:1); otherwise the plural is אֶמְהוֹת (Gen. 25:16 [Ishmael], Numb. 25:15 [Midian]). The form אֶמְהִים is not found in the Bible; cf. l. 12, where the ה is omitted.

⁶⁴ Cf. 2 Sam. 23:17, הֵלְכִים בְּנַפְשֹׁתָם (A. V. "that went in jeopardy of their lives"). The expression הַשְׁלִים נֶפֶשׁ is frequently used in payyēṭanic literature to denote the idea of sacrificing oneself; see Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, p. 641, n. 15.

⁶⁵ See Judg. 11:6, 11; Josh. 10:24.

⁶⁶ Especially applied to divine abode; see Ps. 68:6; 90:1; 2 Chron. 19:27; cf. Montgomery, "The Place," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXIV, Part I (1905), p. 26.

⁶⁷ See 2 Sam. 19:4.

⁶⁸ Ezek. 21:14, 33.

⁶⁹ In biblical usage "extreme" (Ps. 134:22). In rabbinic literature it sometimes has the meaning of destruction, in the same sense as used here; cf. Numb. Rabba, XVIII, 12.

⁷⁰ Late Hebrew (Ezra 10:14; Neh. 10:35; 13:31), and rabbinic. The regular term for the summons of the court of justice is הַדְּמִינָה (Kiddushin, 70a).

⁷¹ Cf. Ps. 78:69.

⁷² Aramaic and rabbinic (Hulin, 33a), probably related to the Arabic هَكَكَ = "to cut through, tear through," hence "decide" (Dan. 9:24); cf. Barth, *Etymologische Studien*, p. 23; Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, s. v.

⁷³ Denominative from אָזַל ("strength," Ps. 22:20; 88:5). The verb is not found; cf. Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 411, Fragment XLI, l. 7.

⁷⁴ The verb not found in the Bible. In rabbinic literature it means "to be pleasant" (Lam. Rabba, I, 38; Gen. Rabba, LXXXV, 4; Sukkah, 51a), and also "to be intoxicated" (Megillah, 7b; Baba Bathra, 73b; Shabbath, 66b; Sanhedrin, 38a), probably associated with the Arabic بَسَمَ = "to laugh, to be cheerful." The term מְבוֹשֵׁם is used in common parlance as a euphemism for "drunk." For the expression רִיחַ מְבוֹשֵׁם see Cant. 4:10.

⁷⁵ Refers to Badr al-Jamālī, at that time about sixty-two years old. He is probably the same one referred to in l. 11 as קִצְוֵן צְבָאוֹת, since he held both offices at that time, that of chief of the army, chief kadi and chief court preacher; see "Historical Sketch, p. 9."

⁷⁶ Rabbinic, "completion, perfection" (Baba Mezia', 76b); also "to make a sign" (cf. סימן, Arab. سِمَاء, Gr. σήμα). Here marks of distinction that were conferred upon Badr by the caliph.

⁷⁷ Cf. Cant. 4:2; 6:6; for the idea, cf. Ps. 133:1; see Zunz, *loc. cit.*, pp. 69, 648. Probably refers to the friendship that existed between Badr and Mustanşir.

⁷⁸ Used here in the same sense as the Arabic phrase مِنْ كُلِّ وَجْهٍ in every instance. The more usual form in mediæval Hebrew, however, is עַל כָּל פְּנִים.

⁷⁹ Cf. Mal. 3:4; Ps. 104:34.

⁸⁰ A play on סִגְלָה (Deut. 7:6; 14:2; 26:18; cf. Eccles. 2:8; Baba Bathra, 52a). The term סִגְלָה is not found. Used in later Hebrew in describing a man who is beloved by the people or by his fellow-students; see Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 63, n. 4.

⁸¹ "Greetings;" cf. Berakoth, 14a.

⁸² Meaning somewhat obscure.

⁸³ Exod. 30:24 ("in sacred oil"); Ezek. 27:19 ("merchandise"); see Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, §§ 290, 295.

⁸⁴ An epithet given to Israel; see Ps. 68:7, and Rashi, *ad loc.*; cf. in liturgy for the festival of Sukkoth, Hosha'anot, s. v. יְחִידָה לִיחִידָךְ, אִם אֲנִי חֲרוּמָה "the only one (Israel) to proclaim Thy unity."

⁸⁵ הִיָּדָה = "allegory, parable" (Prov. 1:6; Ezek. 17:2); הַגִּיּוֹנִים = "musing, meditation" (Ps. 19:5). Plural not found. "With earnest prayer."

⁸⁶ Play on caliph's name.

⁸⁷ Cf. Exod. 14:24; 23:27; see l. 3 and note.

⁸⁸ Hiphil not found.

⁸⁹ Cf. Deut. 14:1.

⁹⁰ "Charity," later usage of the word. Cf. Berakoth, 6b, אֲנֵנוּ דְּהַעֲנִיתָ צְדָקָתָא "the merit in fasting lies in the charity distributed on that day."

⁹¹ Cf. 'Aboda Zarah, 7b.

⁹² This form of the plural is found only in Dan. 9:24, 25, 26; 10:2, 3; otherwise שְׁבוּעוֹת (Exod. 34:22; Deut. 16:9, 10, *et al.*).

⁹³ Cf. Ps. 42:4; 22:3.

⁹⁴ Cf. Deut. 32:4.

⁹⁵ As a rule, used in Niphal with ל (Gen. 25:21; Isa. 19:22).

⁹⁶ Cf. Ps. 64:3.

⁹⁷ See liturgy for Musaf of the Day of Atonement ('Abodah), *s. v.* וּמְרוֹב עֹנִינוּ, where an alphabetical list is given of objects that Israel missed after the destruction of the temple. Cf. 1 Sam. 28:6.

⁹⁸ The lowest form of prophecy (Gen. 37:5-9; 40:8-19; chap. 41; Numb. 12:6; Job. 33:15; *et al.*). Much importance was attached to dreams in talmudic times, the most famous rabbis discussing dreams and their consequences with the greatest earnestness. Cf. especially Berakoth, 55a-57b; Hagigah, 5b. In the Middle Ages dreams were regarded by Jews with much concern (see Halevi, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 61, and Harkavy's note on p. 190), and to the present time Jews go to the rabbi for the purpose of having their dreams interpreted (see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *s. v.* "Dreams").

⁹⁹ Cf. Jer. 5:26; Hab. 1:15.

¹⁰⁰ פָּחוּחַ with ל not found in Bible, usually takes direct object (Exod. 22:15; Jer. 20:7).

¹⁰¹ Aram. תְּחֻמָּא, Arab. تَحْمِيمٌ = "boundary." In rabbinic legal phraseology, referring to the distance one may walk outside of the city limits on the sabbath, the term תְּחֻמֵּי שַׁבָּת denotes 2,000 cubits on each side of the city; 'Erubin, 51b, *et al.*

¹⁰² Cf. Hab. 3:15; Job 9:8; דָּרַךְ without preposition is unusual.

¹⁰³ Characteristic of Egypt; cf. Exod. 7:19; 8:1.

¹⁰⁴ Lev. 19:18; Nah. 1:2; in later Hebrew the phrase assumed a stronger meaning, "vindictive;" cf. Shabbath, 63a; Yoma, 23a.

¹⁰⁵ "Royal canopy" (Jer. 43:10). In the translation the view expressed by Bacher (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XV, p. 87, n. 1), identifying שְׁפָרִיר with Fostat, was adopted; cf. Schechter, *loc. cit.*, Fragment XXXVIII, p. 89, l. 28 and n. 12. For the etymology of שְׁפָרִיר see Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 126.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Deut. 28:8; Prov. 3:10.

¹⁰⁷ Denominative from אֶכְדָּר; cf. Numb. Rabba, VIII, 4.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Judg. 5:30 ("spoils of war"); Ezek. 26:16 ("garments of princes").

¹⁰⁹ Form probably influenced by מְשֻׁלָּשִׁים; הַמְּשֻׁלָּשִׁים = "in battle array" (Exod. 13:18; Numb. 32:17; Josh. 1:14; 4:12; Judg. 7:11; cf. Halevi, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 28 = "ready, prepared").

¹¹⁰ Cf. Gen. 15:9; Ezek. 42:6; Eccles. 4:12; here probably denominative from שָׁלִישׁ = "officer" (Exod. 14:7; 2 Kings 7:2, 17, 19; 9:25; 15:25). Perhaps "divided in lines of five and three."

¹¹¹ "Terrors," ancient inhabitants of Moab (Gen. 14:5; Deut. 2:10, 11; Jer. 50:38; and Targum Jonathan, *ad loc.*, see l. 115).

¹¹² Cf. 1 Sam. 17:38; Ezek. 23:24 = כִּיבַע, Ezek. 27:10; Isa. 59:17.

¹¹³ Cf. Jer. 6:23; 50:42.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Lam. 3:13 (בְּנוֹת אֲשֵׁפָה); see Job 39:23; בְּנוֹת אֲשֵׁפָה not found.

¹¹⁵ Arab. فَيْلٌ, Aram. פִּילָא, is recorded as having been used by Antiochus in his wars against the Maccabees, for the purpose of carrying confusion into the ranks of the enemy (2 Macc. 15:20; 3 Macc. 5:2; 1 Macc. 1:16; 4:30). In the Talmud better known because of its size than because of the noise it produced (Berakoth, 55b; Shabbath, 77b; cf. Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, §173).

¹¹⁶ Cf. Isa. 17:12.

¹¹⁷ Aramaic construction, accusative suffix with pronoun.

¹¹⁸ מִלֵּךְ in the sense of "opposite to" or "against" is not biblical; it usually means "in front of" without any idea of opposition.

¹¹⁹ Denominative from גִּדְדָּר; cf. Jer. 5:7; Mic. 4:14.

¹²⁰ Cf. Isa. 28:11; 32:4; 33:19.

¹²¹ Reduplication from **ערב**, which is not found as a verb, but as a noun, indicating a heterogeneous body attached to a people (Neh. 13:3; Exod. 12:38 **ערב רב**; perhaps reduplicated for emphasis, as in **פקח קוח**, Isa. 61:1; **לחפר פירות**, Isa. 2:30; see Olshausen, *Hebräische Grammatik*, p. 354). In rabbinic literature this reduplication occurs with the meaning of mixing, confounding (Sanhedrin, 42a; Targum to Numb. 11:4 **[אספסה = ערברבין]**; Kil'aim, V, 1, Exod. Rabba, XI, 3).

¹²² Armenians were known to the Jews as early as the time of the Maccabees (Josephus, *Antiquities*, XIII, 14, 4; cf. Yebamoth, 45a [captives that came from Armenia], cf. Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud*, pp. 370, 371).

¹²³ Regularly used by mediæval Jewish writers to designate Christians, while "Ishmael" was the collective name for Mohammedans; see Rosin, *Ibn Ezra*, Vol. II, p. 90, n. 6; cf. l. 4, n. 55.

¹²⁴ Ionians, Greeks (Ezek. 27:13; Joel 14:6); descendants of Javan, son of Japheth (Gen. 10:2; cf. Baba Kama, 82b; Megillah, 9a; et al.).

¹²⁵ Cf. Gen. 10:3; Jer. 51:27; see Gen. Rabba, XXXVII, 1, where all three **אשכנז ריפת ואשכנז** are identified with **גרמניקא**; see Yoma, 10b. In modern Hebrew this is the common appellation for Germany. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, s. v. "Ashkenazim."

¹²⁶ Gen. 10:3; cf. Josephus, *Antiquities*, I, 4, 1 = Paphlogonians.

¹²⁷ Gen. 10:3; Ezek. 27:14.

¹²⁸ Cf. Hagigah, 3b.

¹²⁹ Cf. Isa. 38:16; Job 39:4. In rabbinic literature used in opposition to **שוטה** (Rosh Hashanah, 28a; Tosefta Terumoth, I, 3; cf. Ibn Ezra, *Poems* [ed. Kahana], Vol. I, p. 58).

¹³⁰ Cf. Isa. 6:11.

¹³¹ Cf. Exod. 4:14.

¹³² Cf. Esther 4:13.

¹³³ Cf. Neh. 5:7.

¹³⁴ In the sense of "to fool, deceive;" cf. 1 Kings 18:27; Job 17:2.

¹³⁵ Obscure. Perhaps from rabbinic **תחום** = "boundary, to surround" (Baba Bathra, 56a; Pesikta, 137b). The context, however, points to **נתחמים** being the object of **אומרים** and not an epithet of **עברים**. It is possible that it was meant to convey some such idea as "let us warm up, be inspired with hope" (**נְתַחְמִים**), but this is very much forced.

¹³⁶ Cf. Isa. 29:10; 33:15.

¹³⁷ Cf. Lam. 4:20.

¹³⁸ Cf. l. 79 **זמים** is added to fill up the line and for the sake of the rhyme.

¹³⁹ Cf. Halevi (ed. Harkavy), Vol. I, p. 93, **וכלם בטבעת ימין עליון חתומים**, referring to nature generally. Here the reference is to sins that are recorded in heaven; cf. Musaf prayer for the New Year and the Day of Atonement, s. v. **ורנתה תקה**, where it is supposed that every man testifies to his sins by his own signature **יד כל אדם בו**.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Gen. 7:4, 23; Deut. 11:6, not found in plural.

¹⁴¹ Reduplication from **דכך** or **דכא** = "to crush;" cf. Targum to Ps. 143:3; Lev. Rabba, XXXIV, 6; cf. Ben Sira (ed. Levi), 4:2.

¹⁴² "Silent, resigned," but perhaps "hopeful;" cf. Ps. 37:7; 62:6; Job 29:21. In 'Aboda of Jose ben Jose, **דמורים** = "dead;" see Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 27.

¹⁴³ See "Historical Sketch," pp. 9, 10. The second attack on Jerusalem occurred after the incident narrated here, but soon after. The expression "two years" is inaccurate, for the first conquest of Jerusalem took place in 463 A. H., while the second attack occurred in 469 A. H.

¹⁴⁴ "Hateful, hated" (cf. Prov. 22:14, **זעום ר"י** = "he with whom God is angry, the abhorred of God"); cf. Halevi, Vol. I, p. 93, **רגעור הזעורים** = "hateful moments."

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Dan. 11:36.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Esther 2:1; 7:10.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Isa. 24:19.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Ps. 29:9; Jer. 49:10.

¹⁴⁹ Hos. 2:5; Jer. 51:34.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Isa. 57:5, from **חמים** = "inflamm themselves." Here possibly from **נחם** = "console themselves."

¹⁵¹ "Of noble descent;" cf. Tosefta Shekalim, II, 16.

¹⁵² "Delicate, daintily bred" (**מעננה**, Jer. 6:2; **עננה**, Deut. 28:56); cf. Giṭṭin, 56a, the story of Martha, daughter of Boetus.

¹⁵³ Cf. Lev. 13:45; Ezek. 24:17, 22; Mic. 3:7, prescribed for the mourner and for the leper. The reason for this custom in the case of the mourner has been variously explained by critics. The view of the older critics (Kamphausen, Hitzig, and Smend), that this was to serve as a symbol to the mourner that he was not to speak, although somewhat supported by rabbinic tradition, is rightly criticised by Frey (*Altisraelitische Totenträuer* [Jurjev, 1898], pp. 10-12). His criticism may further be corroborated by the fact that in Lev. 13:45 the leper is commanded to cover his lips and to cry out: "Unclean! Unclean!" The explanation offered by Frey, however, is rather unsatisfactory, nor does Schwally (*Leben nach*

dem Tode [Giessen, 1892], p. 16) offer a satisfactory explanation of this custom. More convincing is the suggestion of Toy (*Polychrome Bible*, Ezek. 24:17, note), that, in mourning, one is to reverse his habit of life. The beard was regarded as an ornament, hence it must be covered during the period of mourning. The difficulty only is that שפם does not mean the beard; at most it can have reference to the mustache.

According to rabbinic law, neither the mourner nor the leper was permitted to accost friends with the usual greeting. While in the case of the leper the law was derived from the expression עטה על שפם, in the case of the mourner the law was based on another expression (האנק דם, Ezek. 24:17). They also identified the covering of the head with the covering of the lips, thus making it obligatory upon the mourner and the leper to cover the head up to the lip, "like the covering of the Ishmaelites" (כעטיפת ישמעאלים; Mo'ed Kaṭan, 15a; cf. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, s. v. עטיפת).

¹⁵⁴ See n. 142. This would point to the view that the covering of the lips was regarded as a symbol of silence. Cf., however, Brown's edition of Gesenius, *Heb. Dictionary*, s. v. דמם, II, where the word is also given the meaning of "wailing" (Ass. *damamu*), especially in Isa. 23:2; cf. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 64, n. 2.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Dan. 10:21; see n. 139. ¹⁵⁶ Cf. Isa. 3:12; 9:15. ¹⁵⁷ Cf. Jer. 4:22. ¹⁵⁸ Cf. Isa. 3:4.

¹⁵⁹ "By halters, muzzled;" cf. Ps. 32:9; Ḥulin, 89a (based on Job 26:7); Targum to Isa. 32:4.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Zech. 1:14; 8:2; Joel 2:18; Ezek. 39:25.

¹⁶¹ From זרר (= "scatter," Ezek. 5:10, 12).

¹⁶² "Carried away as by a flood;" cf. Ps. 90:5; 77:18.

¹⁶³ Cf. Deut. 29:28.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Jer. 2:22. This is rather an unusual meaning given to the word כתם. In rabbinic literature it is used as a technical term, referring to a dark-red stain on a woman's clothes or body, as an indication of uncleanness (Niddah, 4b, 5a; cf. Syr. כַּלֵּם = "stain"). In the Bible it means "gold" (Prov. 25:12; Job 28:19; Cant. 5:11; Lam. 14:1). In later Hebrew it means "a stain," from which the idea of "sin" or a "stain on the soul" was taken (cf. Isa. 1:18; Midrash Tehillim to Ps. 16:1; Halevi, *Poems*, Vol. II, p. 32). Here the meaning probably is "they multiplied sins," a play on שנה and שנק.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Hos. 4:2; Alcharizi, *Tachkemoni* (ed. Kaminka), p. 81.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Deut. 25:19.

¹⁶⁷ Arab. قَمْ, Aram. רִיחְמָא = a kind of brown plant (Ps. 120:4; Job 30:4). It is supposed to produce great heat and retain the heat for a long time (see Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 366; cf. Cheyne, to Ps. 120:4). The embers of this plant are taken as a symbol for various things (cf. Midrash Tebillim, *ad loc.*), but especially for the fire of Gehenna ('Arakim, 15b); cf. services for the Eve of Atonement, s. v. כְּהֹרֶם).

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Jer. 3:3.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Ps. 65:11.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Isa. 1:9.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Mal. 3:24.

¹⁷² Cf. Jer. 2:20. "Assyrians and Northerners" here seem to refer to no particular nation, but used as a general appellation for the enemy.

¹⁷³ A strange expression; cf. Prov. 23:25; Ps. 74:6; Halevi, *Poems*, Vol. I, p. 63.

¹⁷⁴ For the derivation of the word فُسْطَاط see Butler, *Arabic Conquest of Egypt* (Oxford, 1902), p. 340 and note; cf. Bacher, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XV, p. 87, n. 1; see n. 105.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Numb. 24:3, 15; Gen. 19:11.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Ps. 22:22; Deut. 33:17; Shabbath, 107b; 'Abodah Zarah, 3b; Zebahim, 113b; cf. Cant. 6:4, 10; see Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, pp. 58 sqq., a disquisition on the word דָּגַל and its usage in Assyrian. For ראם cf. *ibid.*, pp. 15 sqq., 23; Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, § 174.

¹⁷⁷ See "Historical Sketch," p. 9.

¹⁷⁸ "Good star, or luck." the regular greeting among Jews on joyous occasions. מזל meaning "luck" is frequently used in rabbinic literature (Ta'anith, 29b; Shabbath, 53b; *et al.*). Our author is especially fond of this expression; see ll. 119, 130.

¹⁷⁹ The plural of רנה or רנה (Job 3:7) is found once as רננות (Ps. 63:6). The plural רננים is found in Job 39:13, meaning "singing birds."

¹⁸⁰ "Like as," "about" (Kethuboth, 17a; Shabbath, 51a; Mishnah Berakoth, V, 5).

¹⁸¹ The number 200 days is probably very nearly correct. Damascus was taken by Atsiz in Du-l 'Hijja of 468, and the siege of Cairo took place in 469 (Jumada II, 24), which would make the intervening period about six months.

¹⁸² Probably a reminiscence of the Israelitish camp in the wilderness that was protected by a column of cloud by day and by a column of light by night (Exod. 13:21, 22; Deut. 1:33; cf. Ps. 18:12; Job 36:39; Lam. 3:43).

¹⁸³ Probably shortened from **רִיצָא**; cf. Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 121.

¹⁸⁴ Analogy of **ע"ך** verbs.

¹⁸⁵ **אימים** added for the rhyme; cf. *Tachkemoni* (ed. Kaminka), p. 81, where **אימים** is used as plural of **אימה**; otherwise the plural is **אימות** (Ps. 55:5).

¹⁸⁶ An Aramean or Arabic tribe against whom the Reubenites waged war during the reign of Saul (1 Chron. 5:10, 19). In the last-quoted verse it is mentioned in connection with **יטור** and **נפיש** (cf. Gen. 25:15; 1 Chron. 1:31), thus indicating the descent from Ishmael (cf. Ps. 83:7). In rabbinical times and in mediæval Jewish literature Hagri was identified with Arabia, and later generally with the Mohammedan world (Numb. Rabba, XIII, 3; Halevi, *Poems*, Vol. II, p. 20; *Tachkemoni*, ed. Kaminka, p. 10; cf. Kaempf, *Die erste Makamen aus dem Tachkemoni oder Divan des Charizi* [Berlin, 1845], p. 72, n. 11). It is also identified with Hungary, especially by modern Jewish writers; see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v. "Hagar," "Hagrim."

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Judg. 5:14; Neh. 9:22, 24.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Ps. 33:10; **צור** perhaps a reminiscence of the caliph's name.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Isa. 2:9, 11, 17.

¹⁹⁰ Favorite expression with mediæval Jewish poets, especially with Halevi; see his *Poems*, ed. Harkavy, Vol. I, pp. 48, 50, 97, 123, 128, 144; Vol. II, pp. 48, 49, 51, 52; *et al.* The expression **עיש על בונה עיש** is not found in the Bible; cf. Job 38:22, **בונה עיש**.

¹⁹¹ Arabic influence **الله الرحمان الرحيم**. In Hebrew liturgic literature the usual expression is **אל הרחמים**.

¹⁹² Deut. 2:20; name given by the Amonites to the Rephaim who once inhabited their land, but had afterward been expelled by them, a people "great and many and tall like the Anakim;" cf. Driver, *ad loc.*; Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, s. v. Here used figuratively for a strong people.

¹⁹³ Cf. Ps. 136:17, 18; 135:10.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Ps. 38:14.

¹⁹⁵ **שעה** with **ב** means "to delight in" (Ps. 119:117); here, however, "to listen to prayer;" cf. Gen. 4:4, 5; see Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 39. **פגוע**, meaning "to pray," is found in the Bible (Isa. 53:12; Jer. 36:25), and also in rabbinic literature. (Hulin, 91b; Gen. Rabba, LXVIII, 11, referring to Gen. 28:11; cf. Rashi, *ad loc.*).

¹⁹⁶ Perhaps **רדומים** "benumbed, dead;" cf. Esther Rabba, VII, 18, Yozer for Purim s. v. **בראשה**.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. liturgy for Shabu'oth, s. v., **אתי מצוות והקים**, where the same form occurs; Berliner, *Synagogale Poesie* (Berlin, 1884), Vol. I, p. 18.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. hymn in daily liturgy, s. v. **והוא הוה והוא: אדון עולם**. **יהיה בתפארה**.

¹⁹⁹ Plural not found. As verb found only in Kal, Jer. 23:31.

²⁰⁰ Quadriliteral from **כסם**, with the insertion of **ך** (Ps. 80:14); cf. rab. **קרסם** "cut, prune," (of insects) "bite, nibble" (Peah, II, 7; Shabbath, XII, 2); cf. Arab. **يَقْرَضُهَا** = "to cut," and Saadia's commentary to Ps. 80:14, **قَرَضَ**.

²⁰¹ This passage may be taken to refer either to the chiefs of the enemy coming to the king with baskets on their shoulders (as a sign of submission; cf. Ps. 81:7, and Delitzsch, *ad loc.*), or to the heads, literally, of the enemy being brought to the king by his own officers in baskets, as a sign of victory (cf. 2 Kings 10:17, the heads of the children of Ahab brought to Jehu). The first rendering is adopted in the translation, although the second is also possible.

²⁰² Cf. Esther 8:5 with **לפני**; passive participle not found in the Bible; in rabbinic literature usually spelled without **נ** and has the meaning of "accessible, frequent" ('Arakin, 30b; Sanhedrin, 86a). The meaning here is obscure. They came (to meet) the king who is *given* to grace, magnanimity (?). Emendation of **מצאר** would not be borne out by the context.

²⁰³ Obscure. "Presents, gifts" (?); cf. Pesahim, 21b, but there **נתינה**. Perhaps "the star was powerful in their being *delivered*."

²⁰⁴ Cf. Judg. 19:29, 30, the incident at Gibeon, when the man cut his Pilegesh into twelve pieces, which he sent to the twelve tribes of Israel in order to incite them to war against the inhabitants of Gibeon.

²⁰⁵ Cf. Gen. 41:8; Dan. 2:1.

²⁰⁶ From כָּנָן or כָּנָן "to establish, arrange;" תִּכְנֶן means "appointed measure or number" (Exod. 5:18; Ezek. 45:11); here, probably, "fixity, immovableness, soundness."

²⁰⁷ Connected with פָּצַע (Exod. 21:25) "wound;" lit. "split open" (comp. Arab. فَصَمَ = "crack"); cf. Ps. 60:4.

²⁰⁸ Appellation given to Ishmael (Mohammedan world generally); cf. Halevi, *Poems* ed. Harkavy, Vol. II, pp. 61, 151.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Sanhedrin, 91a; see n. 142.

²¹⁰ Cf. 1 Kings 13:24, 25, 28; Jer. 36:30.

²¹¹ Cf. Exod. 8:10.

²¹² Hapax., Cant. 2:11.

²¹³ Form not found; cf. Job 37:17 (תַּמִּים); see Jer. 36:30 for the idea.

²¹⁴ Cf. Ps. 118:22.

²¹⁵ Cf. Ps. 126; אֱלִמִּים found only once (Gen. 37:7), usually אֱלִמֹת (Gen. 37:7; Ps. 126:6); reminiscences of Joseph's dream.

²¹⁶ Monday, Shebat 26, 4837 A. M.; January 23, 1077; Jumada II, 24, 469. אַרְבַּע נְשָׂאֵרִי Arabic influence. מִשְׁטֵימִים = 1009, if we consider the final ם as 600; cf. König, *Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, Vol. II, Div. I, p. 231.

²¹⁷ See "The Author," p. 14.

²¹⁸ Cf. Ps. 33:4.

²¹⁹ The numerical value of קָטַם = 149. קָטַם = "cutting off, lopping, chopping off" (Arab. قَطَعَ = قَطَمَ); cf. Shebi'ith, II, 4; Sukkah, III, 4; *et al.*; refers to the destruction of the enemy.

²²⁰ Cf. Prov. 3:15.





